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AUTHOR Minami, Masahiko
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ABSTRACT

The distinctive features of narratives told by Asians, particularly Japanese, who are non-native speakers of English and residing in the United States are analyzed. Focus is on the narrative structure produced and the communication problems occurring due to cultural traits, particularly as they differ from North American norms. Educational and sociocultural issues surrounding multicultural literacy programs as they concern Asian "voluntary minorities." Specific Asian cultural traits that affect classroom communication and participation are noted. Two approaches to multicultural literacy education, additive and social interaction, are described and their advantages outlined. A study of Japanese narrative types, based on data gathered in one community's schools, is then presented. Results are drawn from an analysis of oral and written narratives by native Japanese-speaking children, produced in interviews or in class. Instructional recommendations for teachers of Asian children, based on the additive and social interaction approaches to literacy instruction, are offered. These recommendations address communication, social, cultural, and pedagogical issues specific to this population. Contains 90 references. (MSE)

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Asian Narrative

Masahiko Minami

Harvard Graduate School of Education

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Author's Address: Harvard Graduate School of Education

Larsen Hall

Appian Way

Cambridge, MA 02138

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Asian Narrative

Masahiko Minami

Graduate School of Education

HOP AND BUNNY

One little bunny came. It was so little bunny.

little bunny have one sister and one brother.

The sister was very good a Artist and brother was so good boy.

But little bunny was no good.

He doesn't help mother.

His little brother was all day help mother.

One day he goto shop with sister and brother and mother

But he don't wont goto shop.

And he goto another way. He walk and walk.

He saw the owl. The owl asked him "You'er Easter Bunny?" said the owl.

But the little bunny doesn't know Easter mean.

And little bunny say "I don't know."

"How bout You'er name." Said the owl

"My name?" Said the little bunny.

"Yes You'er name." Said the owl

"My name is Mark." Said the little bunny.

"Oh that good name Mark My name is Jon." Said Jon

"But I think I am Easter Bunny." Said Mark. And he tell the all Hapns.

"Easter bunny was good bunny Oh so you to.

Now You'er not so good bunny You'er very good bunny

You teik this buskat and eggs and give to You'er brother and sister O.K.?" Said Jon

22 "Yes." Mark Said and he hop and hop and go buk To Home.

THE END

INTRODUCTION

The above story was written by an 8-year-old Japanese girl, Tomoko eight months after she came to the United States from her native Japan. She wrote this story without any "scaffolding," which I will refer to later, and her invented spellings (Chomsky, 1975; Read, 1971) in the story--segmentation errors (e.g., "bout" on line 13 and "goto" on lines 7, 8, and 9) and phonetic features (e.g., "teik" "buskat" on line 21 and "buk" on line 22)--represent many aspects of her comprehension of English. (Note that each line indicates a page break and that each page includes a picture drawn by Tomoko.)

Like Tomoko and her family, more than half a million immigrants from nearly one hundred different countries and cultures come to the United States each year; most of them speak languages other than English (Crawford, 1989, 1992; Hakuta, 1986). The last one and a half decades in particular have witnessed a rapid influx of immigrants from Asian and Latin American countries. The New York Times of April 28, 1993, summarizing the preliminary census data concerning demographic changes from 1980 to 1990, reports that the number of U.S. residents for whom English is a foreign/second language jumped by nearly 40 percent to 32 million. The inevitable consequence of this spike in immigration has been that a large number of children whose first language is not English are entering U.S. schools. According to the U.S. Department of Education (1992), in 1990-1991, approximately 2.3 million elementary and secondary school students lived in language-minority households, made substantial use of minority languages, and were identified as limited-English-proficient (LEP) children. The Stanford Working Group (1993) estimates that the number of LEP children is much higher, 3.3 million between the ages of 5 and 17.

As the New York Times (April 28, 1993) also reports, there was a 50 percent growth from 1980 to 1990 in the population of Spanish-speaking minorities, who are

expected to become this country's largest minority group in the not-so-distant future. Similarly, there was also a sharp increase in the number of Asian-language speakers, such as Koreans (127 percent), Chinese (98 percent), and Japanese (25 percent). This rapid expansion in the Asian population in the United States is a rather recent trend. As Yoshiko Uchida (1971) describes in her autobiographic novel Journey to Topaz, before World War II the Issei (the first generation of Japanese Americans) who had come to the United States from Japan were, by law, never allowed to become U.S. citizens. As James Crawford (1992) puts it, the Asian immigration trend became noticeable only after 1965, when "Congress abolished the national-origins quota system, a racially restrictive policy that long favored northwestern Europeans and virtually excluded Asians" (p. 3).

This paper focuses on distinctive features observed among narratives told by such Asians, Japanese in particular, in the United States. The focus of this paper is not the role of language processing per se; rather, regardless of the language they speak--their native language or English--I would like to examine the narrative structure they produce. It is of course true that if different languages are spoken between the speaker/narrator and the listener, naturally critical communication problems will occur. However, even if the same language (i.e., English in the U.S. context) is spoken, if the manner of presentation and its resultant narrative discourse interaction style are different from what the listener is accustomed to, communication may be difficult.

Unlike examining language itself (syntax, semantics, morphology, and phonology), however, capturing the role of narrative is sometimes elusive because whether a narrative is good or bad depends on whether or not the listener can comprehend what the speaker/narrator wants to convey in his or her narrative production. For example, imagine a 7-year-old Japanese boy who sounds like a native speaker of English but was, in reality, raised in a Japanese-speaking family or neighborhood. Asked by an American teacher whether he has hurt himself, the boy might answer, "Yes, I have." The teacher takes pains to ask him to continue his injury story; the boy finally says, "I was

playing on the monkey bars. And I got a splinter. And I had it pulled out." Because empathic consideration for others is highly valued in Japanese culture, even though the 7-year-old does not give any evaluative comments about his injury story, the Japanese listener in his family or neighborhood will empathize with the boy's deep hidden feelings (Doi, 1973). Conversely, expecting that the listener can understand his feelings, the boy tells his story without revealing his emotions. Perhaps, however, the American teacher who comes from the dominant/mainstream culture does not understand the boy's background culture and its preference for communicative compression. Perhaps, believing that children at age seven should have imagination and creativeness, the teacher judges the boy to have difficulty in expressing his feelings, and concludes that he should be placed in a different type of program.

Cross-cultural miscommunications or misunderstandings between individuals are prevalent. One of the most prominent examples in contemporary popular culture is probably the musical Miss Saigon, an adaptation of Puccini's Madame Butterfly. However, cases such as the one mentioned above have been discussed in the light of a schema, a configuration of semantic memory that specifies the expected ordering or permissible flow of information. Studies of schema, in fact, are not new; Sir Frederic Bartlett's work (1932) on story recall of bizarre stories is considered the beginning of these studies. Among more recent studies, Kintsch and Greene (1978) claimed that, due to culture-specific aids to comprehension and reconstruction of stories, schemata are culturally specific. Using a Native American story that was not in accordance with the Western norm of a good story, these researchers found that U.S. college students had some difficulty in comprehending and reconstructing the Native American story. Ernest Dube (1977) also confirmed the tendency that people forget more in stories taken from cultures that are dissimilar to their own than in culturally similar stories. Furthermore, like the original Bartlett study, Harris, Lee, Hensely, and Schoen (1988) found that foreign stories read to Americans were likely to be "misremembered" to have been more

like American stories. We can, therefore, suppose that, because of culture-specific schemata, different cultures have different ideas of what makes a story good.

Storytelling functions in Asian cultures are different from narratives told by those who are from the dominant/mainstream culture in the United States. However, Asian cultures cannot be lumped together in one category. For example, while Japan and China are both Asian societies in which group-oriented norms prevail, these two nations differ greatly in their standards of early childhood education (Tobin, Wu, & Davidson, 1989). Also, when comparing mathematics learning in Japanese, Chinese (Taiwan), and U.S. elementary school classrooms, Stigler and Perry (1988) concluded that whereas Western educators tend to rely on nativism (children's inherently unique limitations), Asian educators are more comfortable with the principle of empiricism (all children's potential, with proper effort to attain almost anything). In spite of such similarities between Japan and China, however, these researchers warn about the danger of lumping these Asians together. They state that "Chinese classrooms are more performance oriented and Japanese classrooms more reflective" (Stigler & Perry, 1988, p. 40).

Cultural differences are also evident in Asian adults. Redmond and Bunyi (1993) gathered self-reports by international students residing in the United States and examined the relationship between the degree of stress caused by intercultural communication and how the students handled such stress. They found that while students from China, Korea, and Japan alike reported that they suffered from a great amount of stress compared to Europeans and South Americans, Chinese students alone felt more competent in handling such stress than the other two nationals. Obviously because Asians who live in the United States are from different groups, cultures, and ancestries, extrapolating from one Asian culture and its underlying values to another culture is inappropriate at best, and making sweeping generalizations of Asian cultures lead to erroneous conclusions at worst. The goals of this paper are, therefore, to present characteristic features of Japanese children's narratives, and then to see whether some of those findings can be applied to

narratives told by children from other Asian cultures such as China and Korea. I believe that Japanese narrative can serve as a good basis for understanding narratives told by Asian children, because Confucian paradigms (e.g., the malleability of human behavior) that have supported East Asian cultures for centuries still underlie contemporary Japanese culture.

A number of educational and sociocultural issues surround multicultural literacy programs. The educational issues include whether multicultural literacy programs encourage the academic achievement of children from minority backgrounds and, furthermore, whether they facilitate mainstream children's understanding of minority cultures. The social issues include the question of whether multicultural literacy programs promote cultural pluralism or separatism in the United States. In the examples and case studies discussed here, multicultural literacy programs not only help ease the learning process for non-mainstream children (e.g., language-minority Asian children), but also facilitate mainstream children's understanding of minority children and cultures. They also promote cultural pluralism and help maintain the ethnic identity of children from non-mainstream backgrounds.

ISSUES SURROUNDING MULTICULTURAL LITERACY

Different Types of Minorities

Asians are often considered "model minorities" in the United States. John Ogbu (1992) classifies minorities into two groups, castelike or involuntary minorities, and immigrant or voluntary minorities. Whereas African Americans belong to involuntary minorities, Asians, such as Chinese, Koreans, and Japanese, are representative of voluntary or immigrant minorities. According to Ogbu, moreover, involuntary minorities try to preserve linguistic and cultural differences as symbolic of their ethnic identity and their separation from the oppressive mainstream culture. In contrast, Ogbu argues that voluntary minorities generally believe that their lives in the United States are better than

their lives in their native countries. They are therefore more likely to succeed than involuntary minorities, particularly in academic achievement. Voluntary minorities' positive appraisal of their situation is thus likely to have a positive influence on their overall performance.

Yet, it is also true that voluntary minorities are at times stigmatized and treated in the same way that involuntary minorities are. Voluntary minority students are sometimes not allowed to speak their first language in school settings (Crawford, 1989, 1992); according to Crawford (1989), for example, "until 1973 it was a crime in Texas to use a language other than English as the medium of public instruction" (p. 26). In such situations voluntary minorities may feel that they are treated as if they were castelike involuntary minorities. Therefore, regardless of their status, minority students (either voluntary or involuntary) may feel that they belong to subordinate groups and that they are looked down on or even rejected by peers as well as teachers from mainstream backgrounds.

Furthermore, because of Asian students' generally observant but passive participation style in the classroom, mainstream European Americans may tend to interpret this behavior as a simple sign of passivity and thus may consider Asians being not so bright or even dull (Miyanaga, 1991). As Japanese researcher Kuniko Miyanaga (1991) noted, however--and, moreover, as one high school student who had recently immigrated from China to the United States proudly protested at an interview for another project--Asians may consider that being quiet and listening intently in the classroom is active, not passive, participation. More generally speaking, students from different cultures may have different ideas about how to participate in classroom activities. Unfortunately, however, mainstream Americans may have difficulty in understanding an Asian student's viewpoint.

Cultural Discontinuity and Societal/Structural Inequality

Perceptual differences in what constitutes active and passive participation can clearly be attributed to differences in socialization between mainstream Americans and Asians. Shirley Brice Heath (1983) states that children growing up in European American middle-class families have different experiences from children in European American working-class families; especially with regard to behaviors and attitudes, they may possibly develop different expectations. Sarah Michaels (1981, 1991), observing "sharing time" classes, also draws the distinction between the ways that young African American and European American elementary-school children describe past events in their narratives. Differences between such groups thus seem to originate in socialization differences.

The socialization process whereby the individual internalizes the values of the society or community where he or she lives has been extensively studied (e.g., Miller, 1982; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). By transferring a cultural system from generation to generation, socialization generates individuals who are competent in a society- or community-specific way. From babyhood on, an individual is socialized in culturally specific ways, with the primary agent of socialization being the family and local community. Once a child has started schooling, however, the primary agent of socialization changes from the primary speech community to the secondary speech community, namely the school. Following the mainstream cultural norms and values, this will often try to reshape the child's narrative discourse style and subsequent literacy practices. Such discontinuity in socialization has generally been considered why language-minority students do not necessarily prosper in U.S. school settings. Previous studies (e.g., Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, 1982; Mehan, 1991; Philips, 1982; Scollon & Scollon, 1981) have argued that since the narrative discourse practices of minority children's homes do not match the narrative discourse practices of the school environment, problems in academic achievement tend to rise.

The mismatch between the narrative discourse practices of the home and those of the school tends to limit language-minority students' access to and participation in higher educational and occupational opportunities. Because of these limitations, in order to consider match-mismatch issues, it has been claimed that a much wider perspective of societal/structural inequality in light of history, politics, and economy should be taken into consideration (Au, 1993; Minami & Ovando, in press; Spener, 1988).

Lisa Delpit (1988) aptly illustrates this point. She argues that children of the dominant/mainstream speech communities are advantaged in school settings because they know the so-called culture or codes of power; in contrast, children from minority backgrounds are more likely to be disadvantaged or even marginalized in school settings because they lack this knowledge. Delpit thus emphasizes that social unfairness is embedded in the social norms of communicative interaction of the dominant/mainstream group. As a solution, she recommends that teachers must provide all students with the explicit and implicit rules of power as a first step toward a more equitable education and society. Especially, she offers a series of steps/suggestions, so that teachers can be made aware of the existence of these implicit rules in classrooms.

Additive Approach

While Delpit emphasizes that educational programs should provide minority students with knowledge of the rules to function successfully in the culture of power, she does not advocate the replacement of the culture/codes. Rather, she emphasizes that--to borrow Reyes's (1992) term--a "one size fits all" approach does not apply to all children; instead, educators need to understand minority children's home cultures in order to provide a beneficial school environment for those children. Similarly, according to Jim Cummins and his followers (Cummins, 1991a, 1991b; Cummins, Swain, Nakajima, Handscombe, & Tran, 1984), first-language and second-language proficiency are interdependent. A strong native language foundation acts as a support in the learning of a second language, making the process easier and faster. Extending this conceptual framework, used with

bilingual children, to a wider framework of minority children's academic achievement, Cummins (1986) emphasizes that educators should promote the empowerment of minority children, their parents, and their communities so that these children can become confident and successful in school environments. Thus, the additive approach has been considered appropriate for minority children's language as well as academic achievement.

This additive approach, in fact, originates in the idea proposed by Wallace Lambert (1975, 1977, 1981), who categorized bilingual education into two types: "additive bilingualism" in which children's first language is maintained and supported, and "subtractive bilingualism" in which the language of instruction is likely to replace children's first language with a prestigious national or international language. Presenting the evidence that bilinguals are intellectually normal and, in some ways, even superior to monolinguals, Lambert emphasized the importance of additive nature of bilingualism and, moreover, biculturalism.

Correspondingly, objectives of many multicultural literacy programs are not of a subtractive but additive one, and to be responsive to culture-specific needs of minority children (Au, 1993). The attitude of the American teacher who, in the introduction of this paper, felt the Japanese child's narrative "boring" or "unimaginative," can be considered as being subtractive in nature. In contrast, the objectives of multicultural literacy programs can be paraphrased as follows: Becoming accustomed to the narrative discourse style used in school environments should not mean losing the narrative discourse style and routines used in the primary speech community (i.e., family/local community). Furthermore, maintaining the narrative discourse style that minority children use in their primary speech communities does not retard the development of the narrative discourse style and routines used in the secondary speech community (i.e., school settings). Filling up the gap created by cultural discontinuity and inequality, therefore, the additive approach is predicated upon the premise that literacy skills and

cultures that minority students bring from their home to school serve as a foundation for the development of their academic and literacy skills.

Constructivist/Social Interaction Approach

An important feature of multicultural literacy programs, actually related to the additive nature of the approach, is their reliance on the social interaction approach, originated by the Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky (1978). Unlike behavioristic approaches (e.g., Skinner, 1957) that tend to focus on skill acquisition through trial and error, Vygotsky proposed the concept "zone of proximal development," in which children's cognitive skills first develop through social interactions with more mature members of society (i.e., the social plane) and then become internalized after a long practice (i.e., the psychological plane). Jerome Bruner (1977) built on Vygotsky's ideas, developing the concept of "scaffolding," whereby he explains that adult-child interactions, which are initially scripted and played by adults, then allow children to take an increasingly major role in performing the joint script. Bruner thus maintains that for learning to take place, children must have opportunities for cooperative verbal and nonverbal interactions with adults or more capable peers.

The constructivist/social interaction approach has influenced researchers, particularly those who are engaged in the classroom context (Cazden, 1988). In classroom settings, an ideal situation is one in which, through the genuine, constructive dialogue between the teacher and student, the teacher recognizes the student's needs and appropriately helps him or her internalize subject matter (Tharp & Gallimore, 1991a, 1991b). In multicultural contexts, furthermore, an ideal situation can be characterized as one in which, through interactive processes of teaching and learning, the teacher's question scaffolds the child's constructing process of knowledge based on his or her own cultural identity and heritage.

Both the additive and the social interaction approach are integrated in the Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP) in Hawaii, a primary grades program

that aims at producing normal school achievement for urban Hawaiian children of low socioeconomic status (the name of the program originates in Kamehameha I, the founder of the kingdom of Hawaii). Covering primarily the literacy area (a language arts program and a behavior/classroom management component that facilitates the smooth operation of the language arts component), KEEP acts on the premise that teachers from mainstream backgrounds need to understand and appreciate minority children's early socialization patterns and home narrative discourse practices; furthermore, they need to help those children learn without molding them into the patterns of European-American middle-class children (Au, 1993; Au & Jordan, 1981; Jordan, 1984). As seen in KEEP, educators can facilitate students' academic success by combining new areas of linguistic knowledge with the communicative skills that they already have acquired in their homes and local communities. That is, KEEP teachers use an instructional method similar to that found in "talk story," an important speech event for Hawaiian children in their local speech communities. By establishing culturally compatible classroom practices through culturally responsive instruction, therefore, narrative discourse practices children acquire at home can facilitate their effective participation in school activities.

JAPANESE TYPES OF NARRATIVE

Fostering multicultural literacy, particularly in relation to socialization, can serve to generate people who are competent in socioculturally specific ways. The understanding of narrative is equally important; from early youth on, children acquire numerous narrative discourse rules operating in a given society. Furthermore, the specific narrative style a child uses not only reflects a culturally nurtured socialization process, but also predicts potential problems that may arise when the main agent of socialization changes from the primary speech community (i.e., the family and local community where the child was raised) to the secondary speech community (i.e., the school). In this section I will apply these issues to the narrative structure used by Japanese children living in the

northeast United States, and then examine how multicultural literacy is incorporated into these children's classroom settings.

Background Information

While cross-cultural comparison of narrative productions has been addressed in previous studies (e.g., Michaels, 1981, 1991), we lack much information on how culture-specific forms of narrative discourse are transmitted to young children. First of all, data from languages other than English are very limited. We know next to nothing about how these different styles are acquired in other languages. Furthermore, in spite of the fact that research focusing on Japanese narrative discourse already exists (e.g, Maynard, 1989; Yamada, 1992), virtually no extended analyses of Japanese children's narrative discourse productions are at present available. Thus, past research on this topic has substantial shortcomings.

For this study I gathered data--Japanese data in particular--in Greenville, a suburban town in the Northeast of the United States. About 10 percent of the town population of approximately 55,000 is Asian, 3 percent is African American, and small numbers of other groups are present; however, residents of the town are predominantly European American. There are about 5,500 children who attend eight elementary schools (kindergarten through grade eight) and one high school. One quarter of the school population come from homes where the primary language is not English, which indicates that the European-American population is also diverse. Some of those students are already proficient in English, but others are LEP children. The town offers five bilingual literacy programs in Hebrew, Japanese, Russian, Chinese, and Spanish, which children from one of these groups who are not proficient in English may attend. (Note that these are not ordinary bilingual programs, which tend to focus on second-language speaking skills, but that using language-minority children's first language as a medium of instruction, they specifically aim at improving those children's literacy skills in English). The Japanese program is located in the Hawthorne School and consists of one Japanese

instructor and two American instructors who have lived in Japan and speak Japanese to some extent.

I gathered oral and written narratives from children in this literacy program. With oral narratives, I followed the Labovian methodology (Labov, 1972). Before conducting an interview, rapport with the child was established through activities such as drawing pictures. In order to minimize the self-consciousness of the child and avoid influencing his or her social behaviors, conversations were recorded at the child's home or, if it was not available for some reason, at the child's friend's home. Recording sessions were half an hour long.

When the interviewer judged that the child was comfortable with the situation, he or she would ask prompting questions in Japanese related to injuries in their native language in the manner developed by Peterson and McCabe (1983). Specifically, a short prompt about an injury that the interviewer had suffered was given; then questions were asked such as, "Have you ever gotten hurt?" "Did you ever get a shot?" or "Did you ever get stung by a bee?". If the child said "yes," he or she was asked follow-up questions such as, "Would you tell me about it?" for more a detailed account. To maintain conversational interaction, general subprompts were also employed, such as "uh huh," "and/then," "tell me more," or "then what happened?". However, so that the interview could assess narrative skills in the absence of "scaffolding" by adults or more capable peers, no specific questions were asked.

Analyzing the Data

From the diverse methods available for analyzing narrative structure (see McCabe & Peterson, 1991, and Peterson & McCabe, 1983, for review), I synthesized two different types of analyses, verse/stanza analysis, which has been applied successfully to narratives from various cultures, and high point analysis. As explained below, applying these synthesized analysis to oral narratives, I found several principal characteristics of Japanese children's personal narratives.

Verse/stanza analysis. Verse/stanza analysis was originally developed by Dell Hymes (1981) and later extended by James Gee (1985). Using verse analysis, Hymes (1982) analyzed a short story from the Zuni, a Native American tribe in New Mexico, and found a culture-specific pattern of narrative structure. Using "idea units," defined by Wallace Chafe (1980) as a series of brief spurts, Gee (1985, 1989) constructed the hierarchical concept of analysis. In the current system, the most subordinate unit of the narrative is defined as the line, which corresponds to the "idea unit." Lines are thematically grouped into verses, verses into stanzas, and stanzas into parts.

High point analysis. I also analyzed lines and verses from the standpoint of high point analysis. Labov and his colleagues (Labov, Cohen, Robins, & Lewis, 1968; Labov & Waletzky, 1967) presented linguistic techniques to evaluate narration of experiences within Black English vernacular. Minami and McCabe (1991a, 1991b, 1993) have drawn from an adaptation of Labov's analysis called high point analysis (Peterson & McCabe, 1983) because of the central importance of ascertaining the emotional climax--the high point--of the narrative. Specifically, "orientation," "evaluation," and "act" in the Labovian approach were drawn on for the analysis; that is, in high point analysis some clauses play the role of "orientation," which is considered to set the stage for the narrated events, whereas other clauses are considered to perform the role of "evaluation" or "act." Minami and McCabe (1991a, 1991b, 1993) further use another category, "outcome," which represents the result(s) of specific actions, whether evaluatively ("that's why I was scared"), in terms of physical consequences ("a nail came off"), or both ("I got a broken bone").

Synthesis of analyses. When verse/stanza analysis and high point analysis were applied to a narrative originally produced in Japanese by an 8-year, 4-month-old boy Shun, the following organization were obtained (translated into English by the author). Note that, in the following translation, the numbers to the right refer to the order of lines (the smallest unit); the small letters (a-i) in parentheses indicate the beginning of each

verse (the second smallest unit). Notice, also, that additional coding, which is based on Labov (1972) and Minami and McCabe (1991a, 1991b, 1993), is noted in the column to the right: orientation [OR], act [A], evaluation [E], and outcome [OUT] (in case a verse includes more than one line, the category is noted on the first line of the verse).

Example 1

STANZA A:	[First shot]		
(a)	As for the first (shot), you know,	1	OR
(b)	(I) got (it) at Ehime, you know,	2	A
(c)	(It) hurt a lot.	3	OUT
STANZA B:	[Second shot]		
(d)	As for the second (shot), you know,	4	OR
(e)	(I) knew, you know,	5	E
	(it would) hurt, you know,	6	
(f)	Well, you know,	7	E
	(it) didn't hurt so much, you know.	8	
STANZA C:	[The other shots]		
(g)	The next (one) didn't hurt so much, either.	9	E
(h)	As for the last (one), you know,	10	OR
(i)	(it) didn't hurt at all.	11	E

To American ears, these stanzas might sound to comprise three short, separate narratives, none of which is fully developed. As I have already mentioned in the introduction section, this type of narrative may strike American classroom teachers as "lacking imagination." We can notice, however, that there is a nice progression from the first shot (Stanza A) that must have surprised the boy and was painful, to the second one (Stanza B) that did not seem so bad, and to the third and the last one (Stanza C) that did not hurt at all. Thus, this narrative includes cohesive collections of several experiences that the boy had. Furthermore, injuries are contrasted to each other, and each injury is

described in an elegantly succinct three-verse form. Finally, because of the nature of the Japanese language, the speaker/narrator omits pronouns, copulas, and other linguistic devices (shown in parentheses) that help the listener can easily identify and empathize with the speaker/narrator.

Similarly, a 7-year, 10-month-old girl Sayaka juxtaposed three different types of injuries across parts (originally in Japanese): (1) an injury in kindergarten, (2) a fall off an iron bar, and (3) two hernia operations.

Example 2

PART I:	[Injury in kindergarten]		
STANZA A:	[Got hurt in kindergarten]		
(a)	When (I was) in kindergarten,	1	OR
(b)	(I) got (my) leg caught in a bicycle,	2	A
(c)	(I) got a cut here.	3	OUT
STANZA B:	[Aftermath of injury]		
(d)	(I) wore a cast for about a month.	4	A
(e)	(I) took a rest for about a week.	5	A
(f)	And (I) went back again.	6	A
PART II:	[An iron bar]		
STANZA C:	[Fell off an iron bar]		
(a)	(I) had a cut here.	7	OR
(b)	(I) fell off an iron bar.	8	A
(c)	Yeah, (I) had two mouths.	9	OUT
PART III:	[Hernia operations]		
STANZA D:	[The first operation]		
(a)	Um, well, (I) was born with (a) hernia,	10	OR
	I heard.	11	
(b)	As for the one hernia,	12	OR

(c)	As a little baby,	13	A
	(I) got an operation.	14	
STANZA E:	[The second operation]		
(d)	But as (I) didn't have an operation for the other one	15	E
(e)	As an early first grader,	16	A
	(I) was hospitalized.	17	
(f)	And (I) got an operation.	18	OUT

As can be seen in Examples 1 and 2, without exception stanzas consist of three verses. We also notice that Stanza A in Example 1 and Stanzas A and C in Example 2 each consist of an orientation, an act, and an outcome. This three-verse, orientation-act-outcome pattern seems to represent the canonical pattern among Japanese children's narratives. While verses (d-f) in Stanza B (Example 2) illustrate a three-step sequence of events and thus are somewhat different from the canonical pattern, verse (d) provides the setting of this stanza (like the orientation seen in verse (a), Stanza A). As seen in Stanza E (Example 2), moreover, because in the flow of conversation, orientation may often have already been provided, it is replaced with evaluation. Therefore, the overall structures of these stanzas seem quite similar to the canonical one.

Additionally, verse (c) in Stanza C (Example 2) shows that Sayaka, pointing at her chin, meant that the wound was cut open as if it were also a mouth. Japanese listeners may feel that her use of this metaphor is somewhat humorous, but at the same time can easily imagine how severe and painful her injury was, and thus deeply empathize with her.

Finally, Sayaka not only juxtaposed three different types of injuries across parts, but in Part 3, after her orientative comments that served as background information, she also juxtaposed her hernia operations chronologically across stanzas. In addition to the three-verse, orientation-act-outcome pattern, it seems, therefore, that a presentation of multiple experiences--isolated but related incidents--across parts and/or stanzas is another

feature of Japanese children's narratives. Moreover, the combination of these multiple life experiences are shaped into a whole unified story in Japanese narrative.

To pull together the various aspects, Example 3 below, which was told originally in Japanese by a 7-year, 10-month-old boy Yoshi, illustrates both the three-verse, orientation-act-outcome pattern and the presentation of multiple experiences.

Example 3

STANZA A:	[Abstract]		
(a)	(I) fell down.	1	A
(b)	(I) got a big injury here.	2	OUT
(c)	(I) bumped into a heater.	3	A
(d)	(I) got hurt here.	4	OUT
STANZA B:	[Injury in Japan]		
(e)	First, as for this one, you know,	5	OR
	When (I) lived in Japan, you know,	6	
(f)	(I) was dashing "dah, dah, dah,"	7	A
	(I) tumbled.	8	
(g)	(I) got hurt.	9	E
STANZA C:	[Injury in the United States]		
(h)	And, as for the other one, you know,	10	OR
(i)	(I) was playing, you know,	11	A
	(I) stumbled,	12	
	(I bumped) into a heater "bang."	13	
(j)	Then, you know,	14	OUT
	from here, (it) bled "drip, drip."	15	

In Stanza A, Yoshi briefly talked about his injury in Japan, and then restarted to describe another injury he suffered in the United States in a more detailed manner. We can notice that this stanza departs from the three-verse orientation-act-outcome pattern

but that the stanza functions as an abstract of the two injuries to be described later in Stanzas B and C. This insertion of brief description of one experience is another feature of Japanese children's oral narratives.

I assume that the origins of these kinds of Japanese children's narrative patterning can be traced back to conversations between parents and children. That is, I suppose that through dialogic narrative discourse such as dinner-table conversations, Japanese mothers' style of interviewing children about past events would form a template for Japanese children's narrative form. A 5-year, 6-month-old girl, Yumiko, and her mother's conversation supports this assumption (Example 4); their conversation (originally in Japanese) once again exemplifies the relationship between an orientation, an act, and an outcome. When Yumiko's American peers drank Japanese wheat tea, which she brought from home to school, the taste of the tea must have been strange to them; they said "Yucky." (Note that CHI and MOT indicate the child and the mother, respectively.)

Example 4

CHI:	(a) um you know	1	OR
	all (kids) said that they wanted (to drink it) you know.	2	
	(MOT: uh huh)		
CHI:	(b) and you know	3	A
	when (they) drank (it) you know.	4	
	(c) (they) said "yucky."	5	OUT
MOT:	(d) when (they) were looking at (the wheat tea)	6	OR
	(they) said that (they) wanted (to drink it).	7	
	(e) and then once (they) had drunk (it)	8	A
	(f) (they) were saying "yucky," right?	9	OUT

Verses (a-c) produced by the child and verses (d-f) by the mother each conform to the pattern of an orientation followed by an act and then an outcome. The mother thus confirms what the child has narrated, using the same three-verse stanza pattern that we have previously observed in Japanese children's monologic narratives.

To conclude this subsection, in many respects, the form of Japanese children's narratives reflects the essential features of haiku, a commonly practiced three-line literary form that often combines poetry and narrative (Minami, 1990; Minami & McCabe, 1991a). Particularly, the collection of experiences in the Japanese children's monologic narratives reflects the essential collectiveness of experiences typically practiced in haiku composition. It seems, then, that the haiku (or quasi-haiku) style is so culturally embedded and, even before entering preschool, children are so abundantly exposed to this style in home/local discourse situations, their oral narrative reflects the features represented in haiku. In other words, popular literary games such as haiku represent underlying Japanese cultural values.

Literacy Practices in U.S. School Environments

Oral vs. written narrative. Literacy programs for minority children--Japanese children in particular--are being put into practice in actual school settings. With the social interactionist paradigm in mind, studying Japanese children in U.S. classrooms is interesting, because these Japanese children, after they have gone through the Japanese pattern of socialization not only in their homes but also in their local communities/neighborhoods, experience a later pattern of socialization that does not necessarily parallel the early one.

As previously mentioned, in addition to collecting oral narratives, I gathered samples of written narratives, which, in spite of the restrictions of the written form, as Heath (1983) and Michaels and Collins (1984) discuss, reflect some features also observed in oral narratives. For example, in a historical writing assignment, Katsuo, a fifth-grade Japanese boy in the bilingual literacy program at the Hawthorne School, wrote

a fictional piece based on an earthquake that devastated the Tokyo area in 1923. In his original version, Katsuo wrote the following (originally in Japanese):

> Koichi's mother and father died. As many as 167,000 people died because of the earthquake. Koichi's mother died under a pillar. Koichi's father was burned to death. A man who was a friend of Koichi's father carried Koichi on his back, and ran away from the fire. In her last moments, Koichi's mother said, "I am too old to have a hope. But, Koichi, there are hopes and future for you. . . .

Katsuo's narrative is very succinct, a characteristic also prevalent in Japanese children's oral narratives. Moreover, while it is not presented here, two paragraphs later, Katsuo described Koichi's (the hero in his story) father's death. In Example 3, Yoshi briefly inserted another but similar experience. As I have previously mentioned, this insertion of other incidents after the topic statement/abstract--going back and forth--is one of the characteristic features of Japanese children's oral narratives.

Additionally, what Koichi's mother said to him in the above story (shown in italics) illustrates traditional but somewhat stilted Japanese cultural beliefs--what Japanese should be like and how strong the mother-child bond is (Lebra, 1986). Because these lines are a cliché from Japanese movies and theatrical plays, I suspect that Katsuo, the author of this story, inserted this so that it would sound humorous or even funny.

With one of the two American instructors in the program, Katsuo developed his original draft by an extensive process of conferencing, drafting, and editing. His finished English version read like this:

> Koichi was standing in his house, too scared to do anything, calling "Mother! Mother!" A man who was a friend of Koichi's father's carried Koichi on his back, and ran away from the fire. The fire ceased, and the earthquake stopped.
>
> Koichi saw a place where many people had jumped in the river. The sorrow this sight caused him remained in his heart always. As many as 167,000 people died because of the earthquake.

His house was nearby. He went into his house to look for his mother, but his mother had died under the pillar. Next Koichi looked for his father, but he wasn't there. What am I stepping on, he thought, and he looked down and began to search for bones. Almost at once he saw his father's burned body. . . .

When comparing this edited version and the original, we realize what an amazing transformation has been accomplished through the writing and editing process. The original story, which shows a strong resemblance to Japanese children's oral narratives, has been transformed into a more smoothly flowing, refined style. More specifically, the original compactness--one of the characteristic features of Japanese children's narratives--has been replaced with a more lengthy narrative style. Moreover, the insertion of a brief description of another incident has disappeared in the finished version, and so have the sad but actually humorous/melodramatic mother's remarks. Furthermore, I feel that the finished version reflects the imposition of the Western psychodynamic approach--the potential long-term effects of an individual's early childhood experiences on his or her personality--on Katsuo's original fiction (shown in italics). I do not necessarily imply that the finished product represents a case in which children from non-mainstream cultures tend to be misunderstood in writing conferences. Yet it still illustrates a certain consequence of the interaction between individuals from two different cultures.

Author's Chair: Ownership of literacy. A first-grade Japanese boy Makoto published a book titled "I was a Fireman," which he wrote with the aid of a Japanese instructor of the Japanese bilingual literacy program in the Hawthorne School. One day, Makoto held the Author's Chair--a first-grade author reads pages from his or her published books in the classroom (Au, 1993; Graves & Hansen 1983). Makoto dedicated his book to his classmate Hiromi, a Japanese girl, because according to him, she was sweet and gentle and shared her Nintendo game with him (they lived in the same local

community). Note that a space indicate a page break (lines added). Each page also has a picture drawn by Makoto, which corresponds to the narrative line(s):

I was a Fireman

1 In the night the building caught on fire.
2 The fireman came.

3 They got out their water hoses. Shhhh!!

4 A fire truck came to kill the fire.

5 The fire became big and wild.

6 This house did not catch on fire.
7 There was a slide in the back yard.

8 The church caught on fire.

9 Another building caught on fire a little.

10 Everybody worked hard.
11 The fire died down.
12 We all went home to sleep.

The classroom teacher helped Makoto read his book to the class. He read in halting English, which might have made the story somewhat unclear to the audience. As soon as Makoto finished reading, however, a couple of European American children raised their hands. One, wondering whether Makoto's story was a personal narrative based on an experience that actually occurred, asked, "Is it true?" Makoto responded by nodding his head. The classroom teacher asked him whether his story was true. Makoto nodded again, indicating "no," and the teacher seemed to understand him. Another child commented that the pictures Makoto drew in the book were beautiful. Since Makoto did not say anything, the teacher told him, "Say thank you." Makoto said in a small voice,

"Thank you." Another child asked Makoto whether the slide stopped the fire (see lines 6 and 7). This child probably reasoned, from the sequence of Makoto's story, that all other houses caught fire, while only one did not because of the slide in the yard. Makoto was at first silent, but asked again by the teacher to respond to the boy's question, said, "Just lucky." Then, another child commented, "Good book."

In this way, children continued to comment on Makoto's book and said something nice to him. Makoto's Author's Chair was successfully over, and he was very proud of it. Even one week after his Author's Chair, he was still proud of his success.

As I previously mentioned, this book publishing went through the process of conference, editing, and revision with a Japanese bilingual literacy program instructor, who "scaffolded" Makoto, in writing a story in both Japanese and English, toward the publication. As Elfrieda Hiebert (1991) puts it, in the old behaviorist view "meaning was assumed to reside primarily within text"; in the social-interactionist view "meaning is created through an interaction of reader and text" (p. 1). Through the student-teacher interaction as well as peer interactions, the constructivist/social interaction approach, which I have previously reviewed, is actualized here. I believe that the constructivist/social interaction approach is particularly important in multicultural classrooms in order to implement culturally responsive instruction. Moreover, the goal of stressing non-mainstream students' ownership of literacy (Au, Scheu, & Kawakami, 1990) empowers those students to achieve reading and writing competence. Makoto's positive experience will surely help him develop his English competency with a positive attitude. Obviously, one of the long-term goals of multicultural/bilingual literacy programs is to help children function successfully in U.S. society. However, it is also important that teachers understand the cultural rules with which these children grew up.

FOR THE BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF ASIAN CULTURES

In this section, I will first continue to discuss the Japanese narrative/literary style, and then extend my discussion to other Asian narratives such as Chinese and Korean. I will

finally propose specific recommendations for multicultural literacy programs, briefly touching on Asian-American literature.

Haiku as Representative of Japanese Narrative Discourse

As mentioned above, Japanese children's narratives are reminiscent of haiku, a form of Japanese poetry with a distinctive three-line format. Since depicting an actual scene in detail is impossible in a haiku's seventeen syllables, a prerequisite of haiku is communicative compression (use of allusion/moods/symbolism). In Japanese children's narratives, they tend to talk succinctly about a stack of isolated, similar events. In addition, since haiku historically developed in an oral comic dialogue (Minami, 1990; Minami & McCabe, 1991a; Yamamoto, 1969), haiku has a close relationship to Japanese narrative discourse style. Haiku is thus representative of underlying cultural values, such as empathy.

Japanese children have been abundantly exposed to this haiku-like, succinct storytelling style from early childhood on. One distinctive practice in Japanese society is a kamishibai picture-story show, a series of large cards each consisting of a picture on the front and the narrative lines to be read by the storyteller/narrator on the back. Kamishibai storytelling is often used in Japanese preschools--nursery schools as well as day-care centers--as a support for children's emergent literacy (Tobin, Wu, & Davidson, 1989), and kamishibai storytelling has traditionally been very influential for children in Japan (Norton, 1991; Pellowski, 1977)

Momotaro (The Peach Boy) and Hanasaka Ji-San (The Old Man Who Made Trees Blossom) are the best-known traditional folktales that are read to preschoolers using kamishibai. In both folktales the protagonists are a nameless, good-natured, childless old couple; both start with the same opening, "Long, long ago, in a certain place," which flavors storytelling in classrooms with some authenticity (Norton, 1991). Likewise, both stories end with Heaven's reward for the good (Mino, 1986). Momotaro, scripted by

Saneto (1986), and Hanasaka Ji-San, scripted by Yoda (1986), begin as follows (both originally in Japanese):

The Peach Boy

1 Long, long ago, in a certain place there were an old man and an old woman.

2 The old man (went) to the mountain every day to cut brushwood.

3 And the old woman went to the river to wash some clothes.

The Old Man Who Made Trees Blossom

1 Long, long ago, in a certain place there were an old man and an old woman.

2 They had a little dog named Shiro.

3 They loved Shiro very much.

Because they are written narratives, both stories later include a series of "complicated actions" (Labov, 1972, Peterson & McCabe, 1983). As can be seen above, however, the beginning parts of these Japanese folktales illustrate a culturally nurtured traditional storytelling style that includes three-line structures similar to those seen in haiku.

In U.S. schools, unfortunately, haiku's literary dimension is slightly exaggerated and, inversely, its narrative/discursive aspect is made light of. Some books/textbooks correctly explain that haiku consists of three lines (Norton, 1991), others, against the original norm, transform it into four lines; the famous Japanese haiku poet Buson Yosa's (Aso, 1959) rather unusual (in terms of syllables) haiku, "Willow leaves have fallen/Spring water has dried up/Stranded stones here and there" (note a slash indicates a line break), is changed into "Ah leafless willow. . ./Bending over/The dry pool/Of stranded boulders (Houghton Mifflin, 1988). Further, the use of personification--attribution of personal qualities to trees in this case--are explained as the evidence of haiku as a form of poetry (Houghton Mifflin, 1988). However, personification is sometimes used even in daily conversations among Japanese people, especially among

mothers who, providing children with explicit training in empathy, appeal to the feeling of inanimate objects (Clancy, 1985, 1986). Thus, although the form of haiku is often taught in U.S. classrooms and I assume that American children can appreciate haiku, it is introduced in a different way from the authentic one.

The following are two pieces of haiku (both originally in Japanese). One was written by another famous Japanese haiku poet, Basho Matsuo (Lee, 1983), and the other one was written by a fourth-grade Japanese boy living in New York (Gakken, 1989). Note that both pieces of haiku are composed of three lines, particularly the three dimensions of location, object/event, and time:

On a withered bough,	(Location)
A crow perched;	(Object or event)
Autumn evening.	(Time)

Although it is cold,	(Time)
The Statue of Liberty	(Object and location)
Stretches herself.	(Event)

Probably everyone feels that Matsuo's one is really poetic and sophisticated, whereas the child's one is just cute, charming, or humorous. Yet the child's one still identifies major characteristic features of haiku: (1) haiku as narrative poetry, and (2) haiku as everyday speech. Thus, because this haiku mirrors the typical Japanese monologic narrative style, it further indicates that although the Statue of Liberty is not necessarily considered an inanimate object even in English, personification of an inanimate object in Japanese is less poetic than in English.

Other Asian Children's Narratives: Chinese and Korean Narratives

As I interviewed Japanese children, Korean children were interviewed in their native language, Korean, by a native adult speaker of Korean. Sang Ki (Example 5), a 7-year, 3-month-old boy, has lived in the United States for five years; the girl Young Hee

(Example 6) who has just turned 6 years old, was born in the United States. Although they have lived for a long time in the United States, their narratives still show a great degree of reticence, similar to that observed among Japanese children. In the following narratives, both talked (originally in Korean) about what happened after they got a shot:

Example 5

STANZA A: [A nurse came]

(a)	A nurse came.	1	A
(b)	With a cotton ball, she rubbed.	2	A
(c)	Then, I came home.	3	A

STANZA B: [The nurse gave a present]

(d)	After she rubbed it with a cotton ball,	4	A
(e)	she gave me a present.	5	A
(f)	I got a bandage.	6	A
(h)	And I got presents.	7	A

Example 6

STANZA A: [A nurse gave a sticker]

(a)	It (the shot) hurt.	1	E
(b)	The nurse gave me a sticker.	2	A
(c)	She gave me a bandage, too.	3	A

As can be seen above, these Korean children, like Japanese children, always stayed on the subject and did not talk much about a surrounding story.

In like manner, an adult native speaker of Chinese interviewed a 5-year, 4-month-old Chinese boy, Xiaodi, who has recently arrived in the United States. Xiaodi is very talkative, although he is slightly younger than the two Korean children and most of the Japanese children I interviewed. In Chinese, he talked about a dentist story on one occasion (Example 7A); on another occasion, he talked about the hospital where he went

in China (Example 7B); on another, furthermore, he elaborated on a bee story (Example 7C), which, in reality, like the previous Japanese children's narratives (Examples 1, 2, and 3), consists of isolated but related incidents:

Example 7A

STANZA A:	[Went to the dentist]		
(a)	I went to see a doctor in China.	1	OR
(b)	I saw a dentist.	2	A
(c)	My teeth were bad.	3	E
(d)	Because I ate too much candy.	4	E

Example 7B

STANZA A:	[Got three shots]		
(a)	I got shots three times.	1	A
(b)	The doctors told me to do so.	2	E
STANZA B:	[The hospital]		
(c)	There was a place in the hospital	3	OR
	where I could play.	4	
(d)	Also, there was a big house.	8	OR
(e)	I climbed onto the roof of that house.	9	A
(f)	and (I) played there.	10	A
(g)	I could climb back down.	11	E

Example 7C

STANZA A:	[Stung by a bee]		
(a)	When I was a little boy,	1	OR
(b)	I was in a daycare center.	2	OR

(c)	One day, I collected honey with shoes.	3	A
(d)	And I got stung.	4	OUT
(e)	I was stung on the thumb.	5	OUT
STANZA B:	[Trashed a bee]		
(f)	One day, I went to do some laundry with my mother.	6	OR
(g)	And (we) saw a large bee that was climbing on the glass.	7	OR
(h)	It had a large body.	8	E
(i)	My mother pinched it up.	9	A
(j)	I pinched it up, too.	10	A
(k)	And we dropped it in the trash.	11	OUT

Literacy as gatekeeping. As I have examined, one of the major differences in narrative styles between Asians and Americans seems to lie in imagination and, moreover, creativity. Asian children tend to just state facts presumably because in group-oriented Asian cultures, explicit/logical articulation leans toward too much individual focus and is thus generally discouraged. On the other hand, American children tend to go beyond simply stating facts presumably because in a society in which individualism prevails, individual topic delivery or simply being verbally assertive--including an individual's imagination and creativity--is understood and, moreover, respected. Recall that Sayaka (Example 2) supported her stories with a kind of reported speech, "I heard" (Part III, Stanza D, verse (a), line 11). In Japanese classrooms, for example, such factual representation has traditionally been strongly recommended (Okubo, 1959). Similarly, Howard Gardner (1989) reports that in China a prescribed series of basic skills lessons are valued highly, whereas American children are more imaginative and, moreover, creative in storytelling. As Gardner (1989) puts it, "China and the United States turn out to embrace two radically different solutions to the dilemma of creativity versus basic skills" (p. 7).

Furthermore, as Minami (1990) has found in his study, when American teachers from mainstream backgrounds are shown the translated version of Japanese children's narratives, they react as if they are doing nothing but serving as gatekeepers. They stated the following: "These children need help. They need more encouragement. They should be in a different type of program, not only because they themselves need to learn communicative skills, but also because if children who are more advanced are put in the same program, they would get bored. It is important to assess each child's skills, and to really help them improve upon what they have. That is education."

This line of argument may ostensibly sound valid and convincing. It illustrates, however, that U.S. mainstream literacy practices are, in effect, playing a gatekeeping role, which fails to recognize and build on the literacy skills and cultures that minority students bring from their homes and local communities to school. Instead, it imposes mainstream norms on these children. We then need to keep in mind that "what has often been viewed as a deficiency in imagination within schoolrooms turns out on close examination to arise because of cultural differences in its deployment" and that "what we tend to think of as imaginative is a highly culturally relative picture" (Sutton-Smith, 1988, p. 19). To break the stereotyped misconceptions, therefore, mainstream teachers need to take "steps toward creating a composite classroom culture, one that meets school goals for literacy learning but is also responsive to students' cultural backgrounds" (Au, 1993, p. 104). In other words, educators need to nurture language-minority children by developing classroom activities that are congruent with those children's home/local community experiences.

Conclusion and Specific Recommendations for Curriculum

Because of rapid social diversification, due particularly to rising immigration, understanding other cultures is playing an increasingly important role in the United States. Multicultural literacy programs are taking steps not only to help minority children maintain their ethnic identity, but also to expose mainstream teachers and children to

minority cultures that are well established in U.S. society. In the Hawthorne School in Greenville, for example, at the end of every Friday there is a period called "Good News," when first and second graders from all classrooms gather to see movies and to sing songs. One early spring afternoon, at the break between two movies, classroom teachers asked children--mainstream as well as minority children--to sing together a Japanese song Haru ga Kita (Spring has come) in the Japanese language. Note (1) that this song, reminiscent of haiku, consists of a series of three lines, and (2) that, moreover, they are oral dialogue between two groups A and B.

IA	Haru ga kita,	Spring has come,
	Haru ga kita,	Spring has come,
	Doko ni kita?	Where has (it) come?
IB	Yama ni kita,	(It) has come to the mountains,
	Sato ni kita,	(It) has come to the village,
	No ni mo kita.	(It) has come to the fields, too.
IIA	Hana ga saku,	Flowers are blooming,
	Hana ga saku,	Flowers are blooming,
	Doko ni saku?	Where are (they) blooming?
IIB	Yama ni saku,	(They) are blooming in the mountains,
	Sato ni saku,	(They) are blooming in the village,
	No ni mo saku.	(They) are blooming in the fields, too.
IIIA	Tori ga naku,	Birds are singing,
	Tori ga naku,	Birds are singing,
	Doko de naku?	Where are (they) singing?
IIIB	Yama de naku,	(They) are singing in the mountains,
	Sato de naku,	(They) are singing in the village,
	No de mo naku.	(They) are singing in the fields, too.

Multicultural literacy programs include activities to understand other cultures and cultural representations such as this. In order to be sensitive to different cultures and to better understand different ways of representations, I believe that multicultural literacy programs are playing a very important role. By using multiethnic readers, Litcher and Johnson (1969), for example, succeeded in changing the attitudes of European American schoolchildren in their study toward African Americans. I thus believe that multicultural literacy programs will help reduce possible racial tensions in the United States and all of the ugliness that go along with that racial tension.

Some may feel, however, that the United States has been united mainly by the dominant/mainstream cultural tradition, the Anglo-Saxon tradition, and that it should remain that way. The fundamental premise of such an argument is that a rise of other cultural forces would be a threat to sociocultural stability. Unfortunately, this argument is simplistic and erroneous in its conjecture; it assumes that assimilation can be accomplished on demand and that is desirable, and ignores the fact that the rights and talents of many individuals are thereby denied and neglected.

From the perspective of U.S. minorities, furthermore, such a mainstream assumption is simply not correct. The goal of making minority children competent in the mainstream society should not be attained by removing their cultural roots. Minority groups--either voluntary or involuntary--do not want to abandon their cultural roots, and this wish should be respected. Losing their cultural identity and heritage (particularly those of involuntary minority groups) would remove the very features that provide sociocultural stability to their communities, as has often been witnessed in the case of Native Americans (McLaughlin, 1990, 1992). Instead, in their own way, minority groups can contribute to U.S. society, and better mutual understanding can make the society better and stronger.

Listening and telling. Below, I list steps that teachers can take to encourage multicultural learning and sensitivity in the classroom. In "listening and telling,"

however, I am describing an integrated/composite classroom, not a separate bilingual/multicultural classroom.

Encourage minority children's parents to become involved in their children's education; for example, ask them to talk about their cultural heritage (e.g., haiku) in classrooms.

Facilitating community's participation is also important. For the continuity between home/community and school particularly, invite a Japanese kamishibai storyteller in classrooms, for example. Not only can Japanese children feel pride in their own cultural identity and heritage, but also teachers and children from mainstream backgrounds can appreciate traditional Japanese stories that begin with "Long, long ago, in a certain place. . . ."

Listen to and sing Asian songs--Japanese, Chinese, or Korean--whose lyrics contain authentic narrative flavor and structures.

It is important that teachers understand the narrative traditions of children in their classes. For example, if a teacher understands the value of communicative compression, short stories can be evaluated more positively in classrooms.

To promote social interaction and feedback, hold frequent Author's Chair sessions, in which minority children can have ample opportunities to present their stories to the class and, moreover, to hear their classmates' comments about the stories. Further, the Author's Chair facilitates mainstream children's understanding of minority children and their stories.

Reading and Writing. Teachers can get a sense of Asian cultural heritage and of how they can implement the additive approach, by reading traditional Asian children's stories. For example, Japanese kamishibai picture-stories are also published as children's books. Momotaro (the Peach Boy), one of the best-known Japanese folktales, depicts a nameless, good-natured, childless old couple's receiving a reward from Heaven in the form of a baby, who later punishes wicked inhabitants on Ogres' island and returns to his

foster parents with treasures (Mino, 1986). An English version is available (Sakade, 1958), through which children from mainstream backgrounds can appreciate its succinct storytelling style.

Another best-known Japanese folktale published in the form of a book is Hanasaka Ji-San (The Old Man Who Made Trees Blossom), which, like Momotaro, describes a nameless, honest, childless old couple and their dog Shiro, the agent of Heaven's reward (Mino, 1986). This story is also available in English (Sakade, 1958).

There is a wide variety of literature available about Asian life in the United States. For example, in The Best Bad Thing, Yoshiko Uchida (1983), a Nisei (second-generation Japanese American) writer, assigns a variety of roles and characters to Japanese Americans that break mainstream students' stereotyped image about Japanese Americans. Mainstream students can also broaden their perspectives about Japanese culture, such as what kinds of daily foods Japanese Americans eat, such as onigiri (oval-shaped rice balls). Asian students thus take pride in their own cultural identity and heritage, and, at the same time, to facilitate mainstream students' better understanding of Asian students.

Uchida's autobiographical novel Journey to Topaz (1971) describes how difficult Asian minorities' lives in the United States were, and provides a more balanced view about American history. Uchida vividly describes how Japanese Americans were forced to evacuate from California during World War II and the severe circumstances and challenges they faced in an internment camp in Utah.

In a similar manner, Laurence Yep's series of novels (e.g., Child of the Owl, 1977) describe how strongly Chinese Americans retained their values and self respect in the United States and, moreover, contributed to the progress in U.S. society.

As can be seen above, my specific recommendations based on constructivist and additive approaches should be implemented for the fairness of children from minority cultural backgrounds. This culturally responsive recommendations allow minority children to take part in school literacy activities more positively and, furthermore, change

modes of interactions between teacher and student. More than that, I strongly believe that these recommendations will surely produce an educational program useful for mainstream children as well. Thus, no matter how it is sliced, multicultural literacy education is an educational program worthy of being served to everyone in the United States.

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